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Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu.—By FRIEDRICH HIRTH,
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IN his paper "Dr. F. Hirth and the Hiung-nu," published in the *Journal of the China Branch, R. A. S.*, Vol. xxxiv, pp. 137—141, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill tries to show that the Hiung-nu and the Huns were different nations. He refers to my paper, presented to the philological section of the Royal Academy of Munich, entitled *Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu* (München, 1900). The main object of that paper was to establish the literary proof, based on a text of the *Weï-shu*, for the identity of the Hiung-nu of Chinese history with the Huns of Europe. Mr. Kingsmill denies this identity, but, as I propose to show in the following pages, fails to prove his point.

A subsequent paper, presented by me to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest and published in the *Revue Orientale pour les études Ouralo-Altaïques*, Vol. ii, 1901, pp. 81—91, under the title of "Hunnenforschungen," and a third paper, "Die Ahnentafel Attila's nach Johannes von Thurócz," published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Fifth Series, Vol. xiii, pp. 220—261, were apparently not known to Mr. Kingsmill. A study of the Chinese sources quoted in them might have prevented several serious errors in his criticisms. These I consider interesting, because they illustrate better than anything else the difference in our methods of research. I have on several occasions discussed the principles by which I am guided in this respect (cf. my *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 152, 170 et passim). In identifying the ancient Chinese accounts of foreign countries, we should above all endeavour to recognize facts, and only after these have been established, should the linguistic explanation of names be considered as furnishing additional evidence. Mr. Kingsmill's method is the reverse of

this. He is unfortunately possessed of a regular mania to discover etymologies, and his mind once being set on what he considers similarity in sound, all passages in Chinese contemporaneous authors which might warn him as being on the wrong track are ignored.

As an example we may consider the city of Ku-tsang (姑臧), mentioned in the short, but important text of the *Weï-shu* reproduced below on p. 42. In this text it is said that the merchants of this country (Su-tö, or Suk-tak, 粟特, Alans) often went to the country of Liang (Liang-chóu-fu in Kan-su) for trade¹ and that at the capture of Ku-tsang they were all made prisoners (先多詣涼土販貨及克姑臧悉見虜); and that "in the beginning of the reign of Kau-tsung [452—466 A. D.] the king of Su-tö (Suk-tak) sent ambassadors to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order (高宗初粟特王遣使請贖之詔聽焉)."

Mr. Kingsmill's imagination here forestalls all further research, so necessary in Chinese historical reading, by jumping immediately to one of his linguistic conclusions. "*Ku-tsang*," he says "*here is the country called by Ma Tuan-lin Kweishwang, and by the Armenian writers Kushan. It formed the most powerful of the five states into which the Ephthalite kingdom was divided,*" &c. This is a characteristic example illustrating the dangers of basing historical inferences on mere similarity of sound. It is typical of Mr. Kingsmill's method: the sound of a word takes possession of his mind to such a degree that all logical reasoning is temporarily forgotten in the pursuance of a mere phantom. The nation known as Kui-shuang, or Kushan, is by Armenian writers referred to Bactria, by the Arabo-Persian reports to Tokharestan, Transoxania, &c. (Th. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 115 note 2; cf. Éd. Specht, *Études sur l'Asie centrale*, I, p. 8 seqq.) and has nothing whatever to do with the Liang country of the *Weï-shu*. Liang was the seat of an independent prince of Hiung-nu extraction by the name of Tsü-kü Mu-kién (沮渠牧犍), who followed his father

¹ The Aorsi (Alans) carried on considerable trade, bringing Indian and Babylonian wares, which they received from the Armenians and Medians and transported on the backs of camels from the Caspian to the Palus Maeotis. By this means they had amassed considerable wealth, and wore ornaments of gold (Strabo, XI, 5, 8 p. 506, Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, London 1883, Vol. ii, p. 278).

Tsü-k'ü Mōng-sun (蒙遜), as Prince of Ho-si (河西王) in that little dynasty known as "the Northern Liang," and whose biography is contained in the *Weï-shu* (chap. 99, p. 14^B seqq.). His troubles with his brother-in-law, the Toba emperor T'ai-wu, which have been described in my "Hunnenforschungen," led to the siege and final capture in 439 A.D. of Mu-kién's city of Ku-tsang. Before attempting guesses of any kind Mr. Kingsmill ought to have consulted the *P'ei-wōn-yün-fu* (chap. 22^C, p. 150). There he would have found a number of passages concerning the city of Ku-tsang, the analysis of which would have revealed the real historical basis of this simple passage. But apart from this he might have read the whole account in plain French in Deguignes' *Histoire des Huns*, Vol. i, Part ii, p. 273. It was at this capture of Ku-tsang that merchants hailing from the distant west were made prisoners together with 20,000 inhabitants of the city, who were transferred to the Toba capital in Shan-si (*Weï-shu*, chap. 4^A, p. 21). Ku-tsang was the residence of the Tsü-k'ü princes, and according to the *Shen-si-t'ung-chi* (quoted in the *T'u-shu-tsi-ch'ōng*, Sect. 6, chap. 578, ku-chi, p. 2) its ruins at some time or other were known to exist in close vicinity to the present city of Liang-chóu-fu in Kan-su.

With such fundamental errors before us we can understand why it is impossible for Mr. Kingsmill to arrive at correct results in the most simple question of Chinese research. To expose his errors would require a volume, and would entail more valuable time than we can afford. Moreover, it is difficult to contradict him, because he makes mere assertions and seldom supports his opinions by reasons based on literature. The following is another characteristic example.

Of the country of *K'ang-kü* (康居) he says: "As a general mess has been made by translators over this country of K'angku, a few words may be useful. *K'angku* first appears in Sz'ma Ts'ien, and is there, and, in the early Chinese authors, invariably *Kashgar*." No proof follows this startling assertion, but he goes on to speak about the descendants of Seldjuk in the eleventh century, winding up with a sly hit at those wicked Sinologues who venture to differ, in saying: "A little knowledge, says Pope, is a dangerous thing, and in no instance do we find a better exemplification of the general truth of the aphorism

than in our would-be Chinese authorities." I cannot say that this kind of logic will convince me that ancient K'ang-kü is Kashgar. Has Mr. Kingsmill ever come across the following passage, describing the road from Tun-huang to the west along the southern slope of the T'ien-shan to Su-lö [疏勒, i. e., the real Kashgar], "which is the northern road;" "west of the northern road," the account continues, "you cross the Ts'ung-ling, whence you come out to Ta-yüan [Ferghana], K'ang-kü [Sogdiana] and An-ts'ai [the Aorsi; 北道西踰葱嶺出大宛康居奄蔡焉]"?

This passage occurs in the *Ts'ien-han-shu* (chapter 118, p. 6) and is certainly somewhat older than Mr. Kingsmill's story of the Seldjuks. Or does Mr. Kingsmill maintain that the Ts'ung-ling is not the Ts'ung-ling? I do not intend to recapitulate the arguments which have induced Chinese scholars to identify K'ang-kü with Sogdiana or some territory in this neighbourhood, but west, not east, of the Ts'ung-ling. These scholars, I have reason to believe, are perfectly satisfied with the "little knowledge" so dangerous to them according to Mr. Kingsmill.

Another fatal mistake committed a generation ago and repeated *usque ad nauseam* up to his recent effusion about the Hiung-nu, is his identification of Ssi-ma Ts'ien's An-ts'ai, also transcribed as Yen-ts'ai (奄蔡), the country of the Aorsi, subsequently called by western and Chinese authors alike Alan, or A-lan-na, with Samarkand. To arrive at this idea he has to do violence to a perfectly plain and simple passage in the *Shi-ki* (chap. 123, p. 5^B). It occurs in Ssi-ma Ts'ien's account of An-si (安息, in Cantonese *On-sak*), i. e. Parthia, the linguistic basis of which name was, I am glad to observe, first correctly recognized by Mr. Kingsmill as *Arsak*, the Chinese account substituting the name of its kings for that of the country (*Journal, China Branch*, etc., Vol. xv, p. 8, note 11). Unfortunately later editors have broken this text into two parts, 1. An-si (Parthia), and 2. T'iau-chi (Chaldæa). But

¹ The character 耆, *k'i*, after 焉 *yen*, found in the present standard editions, has been clearly interpolated. It does not appear in the King-yu edition (1034—1038 A. D.; *Han-shu-si-yü-chuan-pu-chu*, chap. 1, p. 5). Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 170) is, therefore, right in not translating it at all.

since T'iau-chi is represented in the text as forming part of the Parthian empire, I presume that the line being broken before T'iau-chi is due to a misunderstanding. To me the passage reads as follows: 安息 &c. 其西則條枝北有奄蔡。黎軒條枝在安息西數千里臨西海 &c.

Speaking of An-si (Parthia), the author says in this passage: "West of it there is T'iau-chi (Chaldæa), in the north there is An-ts'ai (the Aorsi, or Alans); Li-kan (Syria) and T'iau-chi (Chaldæa) are several thousand *li* west of An-si (Parthia) near the western sea," &c.

The name *Li-kan* (黎軒) of the *Shi-ki* occurs in another transcription in the *Ts'ien-han-shu* (chap. 96^A, p. 14^B), according to which ambassadors from An-si (Parthia) brought as tribute to the emperor Wu-ti "big birds' eggs," i. e. ostrich eggs, and "jugglers¹ from *Li-kiên* (犁軒眩人)." Since this passage is clearly copied from a parallel passage in the *Shi-ki* (p. 13^B), the two names *Li-kan* and *Li-kiên* must have been identical in sound, though written with different characters in the two parallel passages. K'ang-hi's mediæval authorities also describe the two characters as being identical in sound.² The name occurs again in the *Hou-han-shu* (chap. 118, p. 9^B), which says: "The country of Ta-ts'in (Syria) is also called *Li-kiên* (大秦國一名犁鞬)." Since this third transcription is linguistically identical with that of the *Ts'ien-han-shu*, I do not hesitate to look upon the *Li-kan* of the *Shi-ki* as a variant of the name which, in the *Hou-han-shu* and later records, is declared to be another name for Ta-ts'in, or Syria.

¹ A specialty of Syrian cities often sent abroad. Cf. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 2. Aufl., p. 338, and Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, V, p. 461. Jugglers and musicians came from Ta-ts'in (Syria) to China in 120 A. D. (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 37).

² It appears, however, that the character 鞬, *kiên*, had two ancient sounds, 1. *kan*, or *kin*, 2. *kem*. I refer to the work of Yang Shôn (楊慎, died 1529 A. D.), reprinted in the *Han-hai* collection, Section 14, under the title *Chuan-chu-ku-yin-liao* (轉注古音略), where the character 鞬 appears under the rhyme *yim* (十四鹽) with the following note: 漢地理志驪鞬縣名在張掖力虔二音. I do not quite understand on what authority this statement is made; but if *kiên* 鞬 can be shown to have been read *kem* during the Han period, this would tend to support from a linguistic point of view my conjecture, made on commercial grounds, as to the identity of Chinese *Li-kan* with *Rekem*, or Petra (see *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 157 seqq. and 171).

Now Mr. Kingsmill, who is so fond of fanciful and ingenious combinations, has an entirely different idea. He combines the two names An-ts'ai and Li-kan, each of which may be shown from ancient texts to have a distinct sense, and gives the following explanation (*Journal, China Branch, &c.*, Vol. xiv, 1879, p. 7, note 9): "Im-ts'ai-li-kan 奄蔡黎軒. It seems most likely here that the two first characters are inverted and that we should read Ts'ai-im-li-kan, in the old pronunciation Sal-im-ar-kand for Salmarkanda, modern Samarkand, the Marakanda of Strabo and Ptolemy." And that in the face of the *Shi-ki* itself, on page 4, describing the country of "An-ts'ai" under this name pure and simple without any inversion and without the alleged appendix Li-kan. This description reads as follows: "An-ts'ai, about two thousand *li* northwest of K'ang-kü, is a nomad country and has in the main the same customs as K'ang-kü. Its archers number fully a hundred thousand. It lies close to a great *ts'ö*, which has no shores; for they say it is the 'Northern Sea' (奄蔡在康居西北可二千里行國與康居大同俗控弦者十餘萬臨大澤無崖蓋乃北海云)."

Sü Sung (*Han-shu-si-yü-chuan-pu-chu*, chap. 1, p. 30) makes the following remarks in connection with the last sentence of my translation: "The *Shuo-wön* defines the word *ai* (崖) as meaning 'a high border;' this means that, since in looking into the far distance you do not see high shores, the raised parts must appear as low." A *ts'ö* (澤) thus described cannot be an ordinary "marsh." This, it is true, is the standard sense of the word; but broad sheets of deep water have also been called *ts'ö*, e. g. the T'ai-wu Lake near Soochow, which is known as "Chön-ts'ö" (震澤), or the Lob-nor, which is called Yen-ts'ö (鹽澤), i. e. the "Salt Lake," or Lake Balkash, which is called "the biggest *ts'ö* in the north-western territories (西北境最大澤;" *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 4, p. 42). Moreover, the text adds distinctly that "they say it is the 'Northern Sea' (北海)," which would involve a gross exaggeration, if *ta-ts'ö* meant a mere marsh. It is for these reasons that I have translated "a great sea," and not "a great marsh," as Mr. Kingsmill does.

I do not, of course, object to the more literal translation, as long as it is understood that, since it is said to be "the Northern Sea," we must not think of a marsh in the or-

dinary sense of the word. I have, in my first paper on the subject, thought of the Black Sea as being covered by this *ta-ts'ö*, but since its first mention goes clearly back to the oldest notice of the An-ts'ai (Aorsi), as placed on record in the *Shi-ki*, we have to look for their seats in their original homes between the banks of the Sea of Azof and the Caucasus. The Sea of Azof is described as a *palus*, i. e. "a swamp," by Pliny and other Romans. Early Greek writers speak of a *Μαιωτις λίμνη* (Dionysius in C. Müller, *Geogr. Graeci Minores*, II, p. 111), and Jordanes (Mommson, p. 89 seq.), in his account of the Hunnic irruption, also styles it *Palus Mæotis*. This corresponds to what we know about the physical condition of its shores, which prompts Karl Neumann (*Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, p. 536) to say: "Es verrät Sachkenntnis, wenn die Griechen die Maitis nie ein Meer, sondern stets eine Limne nannten." Herodotus (IV, 86) held that the Mæotis was not much smaller than the Pontus itself, and Ptolemy exaggerates its northern extension through more than six degrees of latitude (Bunbury, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 591 seq.). This may have been a popular error among the ancients long before Ptolemy, repeated also at the court of the Indoscythians, where Greek traditions had been taken over from Bactria, and where Chang K'ien in 127 B. C. collected his notices of western countries subsequently reproduced in the *Shi-ki*. The Mæotis is said to be frozen in its northern part during the winter (K. Neumann, op. cit., p. 65), and this, too, may have helped to challenge comparison with the "Northern Sea" (北海), if this term refers to the Arctic Ocean as it apparently does in a passage of Pliny (II, 67), who says: "Ingens argumentum *paludis Mæoticae*, sive *ea illius oceani sinus est*, ut multos adverte credidisse, sive angusto discreti situ restagnatio."

It appears to me that the chief mistake made by Mr. Kingsmill in his attempts at identification is the ignoring of information, placed on record in notices quite as valuable as, though later than, those of Ssi-ma Ts'ien. I am, of course, fully aware that the *Shi-ki*, in its chapter 123, is the very oldest source regarding the Chinese knowledge of Western Asia; but we should not forget that between the time when Chang K'ien laid his first report before Wu-ti (126 B. C.) and the time of Ssi-ma Ts'ien's death, not much more than forty years may have elapsed and that much of the geographical

knowledge of the Chinese during the earlier Han Dynasty was placed on record soon after the *Shi-ki* was completed. Pan Ku's account in the *Ts'ien-han-shu*, though compiled towards the close of the second century A. D., was based on records dating from the earlier Han Dynasty itself. Pan Ku's own brother, Pan Chau, must have returned from his famous expedition to the west with a tolerably complete knowledge of the facts placed on record in the *Hou-han-shu*, and during the period of the Three Kingdoms, at the beginning of the third century A. D., the knowledge of the west gained three hundred years before cannot have been forgotten, though added to and modified. Even the geographers of the Sui and the T'ang dynasties (the latter with one notable exception, the division of foreign territories into nominal Chinese administrative districts), being so much nearer in time than we are to the Han period, must have been in the possession of traditions much more valuable as a source for identification than the linguistic speculations of a modern European. Mr. Kingsmill's Sal-im-ar-kand is one of these speculations. Why ignore what later, though still ancient, traditions tell us about An-ts'ai? That so-called "old tradition which made Selm, the son of Feridun, the eponym of Samarkand" is extremely doubtful. The mention of a number of other supposed founders such as Alexander the Great and Shamar Abu Karib of South Arabia (Yakut, Vol. iii, p. 133), shows how little we know about the origin of the city, so that nobody can tell whether or not such a name existed at all during the second century B. C. Of An-ts'ai, however, we read in the *Hou-han-shu*, chap. 118, p. 13: "The country of An-ts'ai has changed its name into A-lan-liau (奄蔡國改名阿蘭聊國)." Professor Chavannes has proved beyond a doubt that by this name two different countries are covered, the one being called *A-lan*, the other *Liau* (*T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 195 note 2, and 1905, p. 559 note 1); and according to the *Wei-liao* (l. c., p. 32) An-ts'ai is also called A-lan (奄蔡國一名阿蘭).¹

¹ Chavannes (*T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 558, note 5) remarks with regard to this passage: "Hirth a bien montré (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 139 note 1, et *Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hsiung-nu*, p. 249—251) que le nom Yen-ts'ai (prononcé *An-ts'ai*) pouvait être la transcription du nom du peuple que Strabon appelle les *Ἀορσοί*. Le témoignage du *Wei-liao* que

But we have yet another transcription of the foreign name represented in Chang K'ien's An-ts'ai. In the biography of the General Ch'ön T'ang (陳湯, *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 70, p. 7^B) we are told that Ch'ü-ch'ü, the legitimate Shan-yü of the Hiung-nu, whom I look upon as the founder of Hunnic power near the confines of Europe (*Über Wolga-Hunnen*, &c., p. 269 seqq.) and who had been assigned to an unclaimed territory by his father-in-law, the king of K'ang-kü (Sogdiana), had attacked the capital of the Wu-sun and terrorized the population by his violence; that the Wu-sun were afraid to pursue him to his retreat, because an uninhabited waste on the western frontier obstructed the road for a thousand *li* (烏孫不敢追西邊空虛不居者且千里); and that, after having committed all possible atrocities, he built a fortified city and "sent ambassadors to exact annual tribute from the countries of Ho-su (the Aorsi) and Ta-yüan (Ferghana), which these did not dare to refuse (遣使責闐蘇大宛諸國歲遺不敢不予)." The scholiast Yen Sh'ü-ku refers to Hu Kuang (second century A. D.) as having said that "about a thousand *li* north of K'ang-kü there is a country called An-ts'ai, another name of which is Ho-su (閩蘇)," and on this basis he concludes that the names An-ts'ai and Ho-su are identical. The two syllables *ts'ai* and *su* can easily be explained, both representing in their initials a sibilant in the transcription of foreign names and both representing a possible *sai*, *sa*, *so* or *su*. The *ho* of *Ho-su* (閩蘇) is read *hōp* in Canton, and *hak* in Foochow. This latter sound could easily be proved to stand for *har* or *ar*. But Chinese sound authorities class the character with the rhyme "27. 合," i. e. *hōp*, and this is precisely what they do with a number of characters having the same final as *an* 淹, e. g. 淹, which is even now read both *im* (英淹) and *yap* or *ap* (英業; see *T'ang-yün*, chap. 20 et passim; Eitel, *Cantonese Dictionary*, p. 190). Though quite different in sound at the present day, the two characters may have been interchangeable at some time or other, the old final

les *An-ts'ai* (Aorsi) ont pris plus tard le nom d'*A-lan* (Alani) explique d'ailleurs fort bien le terme *Alanorsi* qui, chez Ptolémée, embrasse à la fois les Alani et les Aorsi; il est vraisemblable que ce royaume comprenait deux peuples distincts, les Aorsi et les Alani, et qu'il fut connu d'abord sous le nom du premier d'entre eux (Aorsi), puis sous les noms de tous deux combinés (Alanorsi), enfin sous le nom du second seul (Alani)."

possibly holding the middle between *m* and *p*.¹ Yen Shī-ku is, therefore, probably right in assuming the identity of the two names. The crux in the identification with the Ἄρσοι of Strabo is the old final *m* in the first syllable of *An-ts'ai*. Precedents like *Tam-mo*, 曇磨, for *Dharma* do not help us, because this transcription may stand for Pali *Dhamma*. I am in doubt about *Sam-fo-ts'i* (三佛齊, Palembang in Sumatra), which as suggested by Groeneveldt (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 62, note 3) might be identical with Arabic *Sarbaza* of doubtful tradition. It is possible, though not certain, that the hill-name *T'am-man*, 貪漫山, the Saian range, stands for *Tarban*, or *Türmäl*, of the Old-Turkish inscriptions (see my *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, pp. 41 seq. and 87 seq., and Parker in Thomson, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, p. 196). But why must we have a linguistic precedent for *m = r* at all in the face of so much circumstantial evidence? We have other Chinese representatives of final *r*, which in their way might be called ἄραξ λεγόμενα, e. g. Hüan Ts'ang's 耐秣陀, *nang-mot-to*, which stands for Skrt. *Narmada*, the River Nerbudda (Eitel, 2nd ed., p. 107). Altogether I lay more stress on historical, than linguistic identification. The transcription *A-lan* (阿蘭) in the *Hôu-han-shu* and *Weï-lío* is clear and as little dependent upon differing ancient and dialectic sounds as any foreign name in Chinese records; it is as safe as if it were written in some alphabetic language to look upon it as representing the sound *Alan*, which in this neighbourhood and at the period of its first appearance in classical and Chinese literature alike can only apply to the Alans as a nation. According to the *Hôu-han-shu*, we have seen, the name *A-lan* had been changed from that of *An-ts'ai*, and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, IV, 80), speaking of Scythic tribes says: "alias Getae, Daci, Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae, eorumque Hamaxobii aut *Aorsi*, alias Scythae degeneres et a servis orti aut Trogodytae, mox *Alani* et Rhoxa-

¹ Pliny (VI, 38) refers to the *Aorsi* in one passage as *Abzoe*, and it appears that the codices here offer no variants of this exceptional form (see *Nat. Hist.*, rec. Detlefsen, I, 1866, p. 238), which may possibly be a mistake for *Arzoe*. But if this were not the case, it might help to explain the finals *m* and *p* in the two Chinese transcriptions. *Abzoe* might thus be a Latin mutilation of the Greek name heard with the digamma as Ἄφορσοι.

lani." In other words, he holds that the Alani were nearly related to, or formerly called, the Aorsi. This view, supported by quite a number of other arguments, has been adopted by

自 及 其 在 粟
後 克 國 康 特
無 姑 至 居 國
使 臧 王 西 在
朝 悉 忽 北 葱
獻 見 倪 去 嶺
虜 已 代 之
高 三 一 西
宗 世 萬 古
初 矣 六 之
粟 其 千 奄
特 國 里 蔡
王 商 先 一
遣 人 是 名
使 先 匈 溫
請 多 奴 那
贖 詣 殺 沙
之 涼 其 居
詔 土 王 於
聽 販 而 大
焉 貨 有 澤

modern European scholars (cf. Tomaschek in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, etc., s. v. "Alani," "Alanorsoi" — wahrscheinlich ein Konglomerat von Ἀλανοί und Ἀορσοί, — and "Aorsoi"). That part of the Alans which figures in the history of western Europe during the fifth century soon disappeared without leaving traces of its existence; but the eastern Alans continued for generations "in their old seats in the steppes between the Caucasus, the River Don and the lower Volga, right among the Bulgars, the successors of the Huns; in Tauris, too, we find traces of them in the towns of Sugdæa [Sogdak], and Theodosia (Kafa), about the year 500, had an Alanic name Abdarda (Tomaschek)." Under the Mongols the Alans were termed *A-su* (阿速), and sometimes *A-ssü*, (阿思), the name *A-lan* occurring only once (Bretschneider, "Notices of the Mediaeval Geography," &c., in *Journal, China*

Branch, &c., 1875, p. 261). These two forms may possibly be connected with the ancient names *An-ts'ai* and *Ho-su*.

With this material in hand we are now prepared to analyse what Mr. Kingsmill thinks an "improved" translation; for, with regard to my own, he says: "it is difficult to understand how he has been misled in the translation of a sufficiently simple passage, which refers to the Hiung-nu only incidentally, and to the Hunni not at all."

I here insert Mr. Kingsmill's so-called translation of the Chinese text reproduced above.

"Su(k)te(h) is situated west of the Ts'ung-ling; it was the ancient Im-ts'ai and was also known as Wannasha. It lies close to a great marsh to the north-west of K'ang-ku, and is distant from Tai 16 000 *li*. In former days the Hiung-nu killed its king, and held possession of the country for three generations up to the time of King (H)wui'rsz."

"Formerly the merchants of this country went in numbers to dispose of their wares in the land of Liang: [a party] having entered Kutsang were made prisoners, and at the beginning of the reign Kao-ts'ung [of the Wei] the king of Su(k)te(h) sent a mission requesting their enlargement."

"After this period no further diplomatic intercourse took place."

Before attempting any rectification I have to make a slight correction in the text. The character 巳, *ssî*, should read 已, *i*, "a sign of the past," the two characters being easily confounded (cf. Giles, *Synoptical Studies in Chinese Character*, Nos. 966—968). I have adopted this view through the perusal of a paraphrase furnished in a recent Chinese treatise on the subject, the *Han-si-yü-t'u-k'au* (漢西域圖攷, chap. 6, by Li Kuang-t'ing, 李光廷, of Canton, preface dated 1870), which says: 文成帝太安初匈奴王忽倪得國已三世矣遣使贖之詔聽焉, i. e., "In the beginning of the T'ai-an period of the emperor Wön-ch'öng [in reality 457 A.D. according to *Wei-shu*, chap. 5, p. 5^B] the Hiung-nu prince Hu-ni, [his ancestors] having conquered the country three generations ago (已), sent ambassadors to ransom them [the prisoners], which was granted by imperial edict." It is with this one change in the text that I now add my own translation as first laid before the Munich Academy.

"The country of Suk-tak lies in the west of the Ts'ung-ling. It is the ancient An-ts'ai and is also called Wön-na-sha. It lies on a big sea [ts'ö] in the north-west of K'ang-kü [Sogdiana] and is 16 000 *li* distant from Tai. Since the time when the Hiung-nu killed their king and took possession of their country up to their king Hu-ni three generations have elapsed. The merchants of this country often went to the country of Liang for trade, and at the capture of Ku-tsang they were all made prisoners. In the beginning of the reign of Kau-tsung [452—466 A.D.] the king of Suk-tak sent ambassadors to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order. From

this time onward they sent no more tribute missions to our court."

It will be seen that Mr. Kingsmill's mistakes are those of interpretation rather than of translation, though he was apparently not satisfied with my rendering 克姑臧 by the German "bei der Eroberung von Ku-tsang." 克, *k'o*, means "to conquer," whether you conquer a city, a country, or your own self. Cf. Giles, No. 6115: 攻城不克, "to attack a city and not conquer it," or "to make an unsuccessful attack upon a city." Mr. Kingsmill's "a party having entered Ku-tsang" is an absolute mistake. The relative clause 詔聽焉 is left untranslated. Apart from the different spelling of names, his mistakes are thus the only points in which Mr. Kingsmill's rendering differs materially from the one he found in my German paper. I, therefore, fail to see what induces him to say: "it is difficult to understand how he has been misled in the *translation* of a sufficiently simple passage."

As regards his interpretation, the one point of his disagreement, the identification of the country called An-ts'ai, is, of course, the pivot on which the entire question turns. Chang K'ien, in his report, merely placed on record what his friends at the Indoscythian court had told him. They were the same informants who supplied him with that interesting word *p'u-t'au* (葡萄), "the grape," = Greek *βότρυς* according to Mr. Kingsmill's own happy idea, and who are known to have used coins with Greek legends as shown in Cunningham's papers on the "Coins of the Indoscythians" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Chang K'ien's report on An-ts'ai is in my opinion the oldest example of the introduction into Chinese literature of a piece of classical lore, to wit, the story of the *Μαῶτις λίμνη* with its vast extension to the north and its connection with the *Ὠκεανός*, here "the Northern Sea."

According to my view *Hu-ni* (忽倪, *Hut-ngai*) is Hernak, the youngest son of King Attila, who after the death of his father in 454 A. D. withdrew to the extreme parts of Scythia Minor ("Hernac quoque, junior Attilae filius, cum suis in extrema minoris Scythiae sedes delegit." Jordanes, ed. Mommsen, p. 127), which Strabo identifies with the present Crimea, and here according to Tomaschek the Alans had their city of Sogdak (Sudak, Soldaia, &c.) since 212 A. D. All this is, however, immaterial. The main point I wish to contest against Mr. Kingsmill is the

identification of the term An-ts'ai, so sadly misunderstood by him. If once we are convinced that An-ts'ai, A-lan and Suk-tak must be the Alans of western sources, we are justified in drawing the following logical conclusions:

1. Of the Alans we know from European sources that, just about three generations before the embassy sent to China by the state of Suk-tak (former Alans) in 457 A. D., they were conquered by the Huns.

2. Of the Suk-tak nation we learn in the *Weï-shu* that their ancestors, the An-ts'ai (Aorsi, Alans), three generations before their embassy of 457 A. D., were conquered by the Hiung-nu.

3. Since the same nation cannot at the same time be conquered by two different nations, the result is that **the Huns and the Hiung-nu are identical.** Q. E. D.